Dress, personal decoration and ornament among the Ndlambe

by

E. H. BIGALKE
Ethnologist, East London Museum

The Ndlambe tribe is part of the Xhosa tribal cluster of the Transkei and Ciskei. Though the Ndlambe previously occupied a larger area, they are today confined to the East London district, where some 30 000 of them live in five discrete areas lying between the Kwelera and Chalumna rivers.

This paper relates to those Red (traditionally-oriented) Ndlambe who live in an administrative area to the east of East London. The data to be presented concern the greater proportion of the population of this administrative area, Tshabo. In April 1968, 252 (70,18%) of the total number of households belonged to Red people. This accounts for over 1 600 people. The other section of the population is the School (Christianized or westernized) people, whose way of life differs radically from that of the Reds. Despite this, Red and School homesteads are intermingled and individuals of these two groups have many contacts in everyday life.

The research data presented here were obtained between late 1967 and mid-1970, as part of a larger project. Despite the fact that they relate specifically to only a small proportion of the Ndlambe population of the East London district, these data will be found to have wider relevance. The reason for this is the cultural uniformity of the Ndlambe, indeed of the Xhosa tribal cluster as a whole, at least in material culture.

No attempt has been made, either while questioning informants or in committing research findings to paper, to reconstruct the traditional patterns of dress, personal decoration or ornament as they existed at some earlier time. This is rather a picture of the situation between 1967 and 1970. Any comments about earlier conventions are made to illustrate changes in taste and fashion. It is felt that the contemporary situation is worth recording for its own sake, especially as few explicit accounts of Southern Nguni material culture have been published and as, with the increasing industrialization of the Ciskei, social change will be accelerated.

A general feature of the life of all the tribal groups in the Ciskei and Transkei is that women and young girls, but to a much lesser extent youths and young men, have adhered to non-western dress. All Red women habitually wear at least the traditional, red-ochred skirts; many of them wear the items to be described below. Girls of all ages also wear mainly traditional dress. Youths and young men, except the few who are not migrant labourers, wear traditional dress only at weekends, when feasts and rituals are held. As regards older men, it seems that the habit of wearing western dress acquired during their long and frequent sojourns as migrant labourers in the towns, has effectively displaced traditional forms. Even those older men who have never worked in towns, or those who no longer go away to work are seldom seen in non-western dress. An aspect of dress habits in Tshabo is that those people who habitually wear non-western dress, generally speaking, have broadly the same kind of outfit for ordinary and special occasions, but for the latter there is greater attention to detail and much more use of ornament. The dress, decoration and ornament of each group is characterized by its general uniformity.

Virtually all the objects described here are in the collections of the East London Museum.

Four-digit numbers in the text refer to these specimens. Sufficient incidental reference to items of dress exists in the literature on the Southern Nguni to make it unnecessary to describe these in minute detail. In describing articles of clothing here, the Xhosa word *bhayi* is used in preference to "kaffir sheeting" for which a less offensive description could not be found. There is virtually no published material about beadwork and other accessories, thus full details of these objects, including vernacular names and measurements, will be set down.

BOYS AND YOUTHS

The first distinction is that between the dress of pre-adolescent males, on the one hand, and that of adolescent and other uncircumcised males. At an early age the importance of the principle of seniority is stressed, in the formation of age-grades. All boys up to about the age of 12 or 13 fall into one broad group. It has no specially distinctive dress. Its members wear western clothing. Apart from the wearing of short trousers, this dress is distinguished only by its obviously cast-off origin. Between about 13 or 14 and circumcision, long trousers are worn on weekdays.

Among uncircumcised males over about 14 there are three distinct age-grades. In order of seniority, these are the first grade (*umbhutho wokuqala*) or "big boys" (*amakhwenkhwe amakhulu*), the second grade (*umbhutho owesibini*) or "young oxen" (*amadyongo*) and the third grade (*umbhutho owesithathu*). On Saturdays and Sundays the first and second grades—and, to a much lesser extent, the third—dress in a special fashion. Each youth wears a pair of shorts (*ibhulukhwe*) ending two or three inches above the knee. These shorts are generally one of two varieties—navy melton cloth (5503, *ibhulukhwe yesitafu inevi*), or one or more colours in a thinner cotton or man-made fibre (5504, 5505; *ibhulukhwe yelaphu*). The whole garment may be of a single colour or be parti-coloured. If plain coloured, it is ornamented with rows of small glass beads in white, orange and navy; it may be further ornamented by having patches of a contrasting colour applied or rows of lace sewn on the legs. This is the only garment. It is usually held up by one of two types of beaded belt. The *ibhrinks* or *ifigar* (5510, 5511) consists of three or four narrow (13 mm. wide) leather straps placed horizontally one above the other and sewn together with rows of small glass beads in white, navy and turquiose between them. It is fastened by means of a buckle attached to each of the straps. The other variety of belt is the *unoncyiwana* (5512, 5513), a Boy-Scout-type leather belt of three sections held together by means of two metal rings. The upper and lower edges of the two shorter sections are fringed with strips of beadwork in the same colours described above, sometimes with orange beads added. The upper edge of the central section has the same kind of fringe but from its lower edge hangs a wide rectangle of beadwork; this consists largely of white beads, with geometric motifs in turquoise and navy-blue beads. It is often fringed with pink wool.

The torso is not covered, but is elaborately ornamented. This ornamentation will be described below, under the appropriate heading. The head may be covered by a green or navy melton peaked cap (5547; *ikepsi*), decorated with rows of white and orange beads or by a green cotton square or triangle (5075; *iqhiya*—see below) similarly ornamented with beads. The feet are either bare or covered by tennis shoes (*amatekisi*) with the optional addition of rugby socks (5548–50; *amakawuse*) in a variety of colours. Rectangles of angora goat-skin (5550; *isybok*), with hair attached, may be worn about the calf. This is said to have been copied from Mfengu youths. The skins are bought in town, as this breed of goat is not kept in Tshabo.

When they go to be circumcised, youths are naked, except for a waistband of bark fibre (*uluzi*), to which the bandaged penis will be tied after the operation, and blankets. There will be either two grey, shop-bought blankets (*iingubo*) or a woolly sheepskin blanket (*ingubo*

yegusha) ordered for the purpose and made in the location by a part-time specialist. These blankets are used throughout the seclusion period as clothing and for sleeping. Once the cut has healed, a plain sheep- or goat-skin penis sheath (*isidla*) is worn. This article is burned with all others the *umkhwetha* (circumcised young man in seclusion) has used during seclusion. In theory, the blanket or blankets are also burned but in practice nowadays they are removed from the seclusion hut. The woollen ones are washed and given to a younger brother or other small boy.

YOUNG MEN (*abafana*)

On coming out of seclusion, a new young man (*irwala*) is given a new, plain penis sheath (*isidla*) to put on before returning to his home, and wears a new woollen blanket (*ingubo*), usually grey, sometimes white. This form of dress is maintained for only a day or two after the coming-out. After this he wears long khaki trousers, a khaki shirt, a jacket and a hat, all of which are worn until he leaves the reserve to find work, either in town or on the mines, when there is free choice of items of western dress. Traditional dress is worn only on four types of occasion—*abafana's* dances (*iintlombe*), at bridewealth discussions when *ikhazi* cattle have been delivered, at the traditional wedding (*umdudo*) and when an *umfana* accompanies the diviner presiding over the *umhlwayelelo* ceremony at a river.

The most frequent of these occasions is the dance (*intlombe*) held within Tshabo or in a neighbouring reserve most weekends. All *abafana* wears a pair of shorts, but most of the time this is covered by a blanket; this is basically a white blanket bought in a shop. It is treated with a strong or very weak solution (depending on personal preference) of red ochre (*umakaba*), either beaten in dry or as a solution in water. When walking, the wearer has the blanket draped about the shoulders, completely covering the body, or arranged so that one corner of the blanket can be drawn forward to cover the left shoulder, while another corner passes beneath the right arm, being held by the left hand and leaving the right shoulder and arm exposed. For dancing, the blanket is draped about the waist, either in tubular fashion, with one end tucked in at the waist, to secure the blanket, or by folding it so that the corners are free and can be tucked in at the waist, giving the appearance of a flared skirt.

Apart from differences in bead ornaments, which will be described below, all *abafana* dress in this fashion for dances. Marriage does not affect the types of articles worn. However, at about the age of 45 an *umfana*, sometimes at a specially arranged beer drink, is promoted to the ranks of the senior men (*amadoda*, sing. *indoda*) and ceases to attend dances, otherwise this promotion occurs on an *ad hoc* basis.

Both *abafana* and *amadoda* can serve as cattle drivers and go-betweens (*onozakuzaku*) in bridewealth and marriage negotiations. When an acceptable bridewealth has been settled, the future bridegroom's cattle are driven to his prospective wife's home. On this occasion two or three *abafana* don traditional dress before they drive the cattle along. The version of traditional dress on this occasion may omit the shorts, a plain, short-tasselled penis sheath being substituted but the blanket is still worn. Essentially the same dress is worn at the week-long series of events during the traditional wedding (*umdudo*). *Amadoda* wear the same, their costume differing in the type and number of bead ornaments worn (see below).

Some, though not all, senior *abafana* and *amadoda*, when at home, wear *isampulu*, a blanket made of small rectangles of men's suiting cloth, lined with a blanket or other warm fabric. Most adult men at some time wear a melton headcloth (*iqhiya*) in blue, brown, green or black. It may be plain or ornamented with machine stitching in white. Older men, when in western dress, often wear a crocheted woollen cap (*isinkwane*) of brown, green and cerise, in preference to a hat.

GIRLS

As among males, there are age-grades among females. Uniformity of dress is marked amongst all prepubertal girls. They all wear western clothing, especially those Red girls of school-going age who wear uniforms to school. The *inciyo*, a cloth or beaded cloth waistband with a fibre fringe used to cover the genitals, is worn especially by baby girls and toddlers. It is, in theory, worn by all other unmarried females and may, in fact, be worn by a proportion of them but it is generally thought by Tshabo people that bloomers (*ibhulumasi*) are becoming increasingly popular. Women, especially, attribute the large number of illegitimate births among unmarried girls to the decline of the *inciyo*. In the past, it was considered an effective mechanical contraceptive, being tucked between the thighs when a girl had intercrural intercourse.

Unlike their adolescent male counterparts, Red girls who do not attend school habitually wear partly-traditional clothing. This consists of a plain cream or red-ochred underskirt (*unomtidili wangaphantsi*) of *bhayi* worn with or without an overskirt (*unomtidili wangaphezulu*) of the same fabric. The underskirt is worn about two inches above the knee, the overskirt slightly shorter. The *inciyo* may be worn with this. The torso is sometimes left uncovered but more frequently, a vest, T-shirt or jersey is worn. It is not thought essential for unmarried girls to cover their heads, so the use of a brightly-coloured square or triangle of fabric as a headcloth is optional. The feet are usually left bare. This kind of outfit is worn both during the week and at weekends, when the girls accompany their boys to dances or march in groups corresponding to those of the boys.

The only time a variation on this outfit is seen is at the *umngqungqo* dance, which is part of the feast held shortly before an *intonjane* emerges from seclusion. Then, the adolescent girls wear a long-fringed *inciyo* in front. This garment has an overlay of beads above the fibre fringe and the waistband consists of a cloth core strung through a number of small-diameter brass rings. Instead of a skirt, a number of brightly-coloured cotton cloth squares are worn about the buttocks and extend part-way around the waist. They do not obscure the fringe of the *inciyo*. The cloths are held in place by means of a belt-shaped bead waistband (*inyilingo*) of motifs in black glass beads on a white glass bead background. This is often fringed with short strings of white glass beads.

When the youths with whom senior adolescent girls consort have been circumcised, these girls are promoted to a more senior group who are now eligible for marriage and no longer go about with youths. Their everyday dress is similar to that of the stage out of which they have just passed, except that the skirt is lengthened so that it falls just on or just below the knee. Some girls of this stage wear red-ochred *bhayi* skirts but the majority leave the fabric undyed, especially for wearing to dances. The torso is covered, as before, with a jersey or T-shirt. For the weekend *intlombe* these *abafana's* girls wear only the skirt and go bare-breasted. Apart from the ornaments to be described below, they like all other unmarried girls and married women, wear a large rectangle of plain or ochred *ibhayi* about their shoulders as a cloak (*ibhayi*) when walking out in cool weather. This article may be unornamented but often has the lower edge bordered with narrow black braid and geometric motifs in black braid applied towards the bottom centre of it. Groups of mother-of-pearl buttons are applied for ornamental purposes; this is said to be a usage adopted from the Mfengu, who were formerly the only people who used buttons in this way. *Abafana's* girls wear a distinctive, brightly-coloured headcloth (*iqhiya*) of cotton fabric tied about the head in such a way that a wide band stands high above the crown of the head, while pieces of brightly-coloured fabric of contrasting colours are tucked into the band. Although different, coloured cloths are used for everyday and *intlombe* wear, the style remains the same. The feet are bare at dances but black, lace-up shoes are often worn for walking when an *intlombe* is held at some distance away from the home village.

MARRIED WOMEN

The hallmark of the married woman is the flared, ankle-length skirt (*umbhaco*) worn from the time when, with her entourage, she sets out from her own home for that of her husband, in the case of a traditional wedding, or from when she is brought there by force, in the case of marriage by capture (*ukutwala*). This skirt is made of *ibhayi* or, less frequently, of a thicker, woolly fabric called *ifelani*. The latter may be preferred by younger women but is more expensive than *ibhayi*. All skirts are bordered at the bottom and sides, though not at the top, with thin black braid (*ibleyiti*) sewn on by hand. There are a number of rows of thicker black braid (*ibleyiti*) applied by hand or machine-sewn on to the lower part of the skirt. The rows are usually slightly separated from each other, but they may be so close together as to convey the impression of being a continuous black panel.

The characteristic fullness of the skirt is achieved by cutting a large square of fabric on the cross, then folding it diagonally in half and cutting out arcs for the waist and hem. An alternative method is to cut the skirt in three panels, all on the cross, and then join them. The upper edge, which rests just above the buttocks, may be given either a pleat or a dart and reinforced in this spot with an extra piece of fabric. A pleat may be put in below the dart and it is then often held in position by means of a rectangular patch of cloth.

Some women cut out and sew their own skirts. Others employ semi-professional seamstresses in the location, some of whom possess hand or treadle sewing-machines. The customer supplies the cloth and is charged between R3 and R6 for the making, according to the pattern she wants and the elaborateness of the decoration (black braid and pearl buttons) which she also supplies.

For everyday wear the skirt is dyed with a red variety of ochre (*umakaba*) bought in shops. Those of new brides appear particularly red because they are new and the excess ochre powder has not yet been worn off. With age, though clothing is washed, skirts take on a browner shade of red. This dye has a low degree of colour-fastness and has to be re-applied at intervals, after the garment has been washed. Most women have two skirts, one for home and field work, another for special occasions. Increasing use is, however, being made of undyed *bhayi* skirts for special occasions. Though the *inciyo* is worn mainly by unmarried females, some married ones are said to wear it when going to feasts in case they get drunk and inadvertently expose themselves.

A small number of women possess the *isikhaka* (pl. *izikhaka*), a skirt made of home-tanned cowhide. A Ndlambe specimen (5004), like other Xhosa and Bomvana ones in the East London Museum collection, is cut from a single hide. Apart from being cut in the shape of a wide-based, flattened cone with the point cut off, it is not shaped, nor is there a tuck or pleat, as in the *umbhaco* described above. The hair is not removed from the skin. The hairless side is worn outside. The *isikhaka* is worn only at *imigidi*, the feasts held to celebrate the coming-out of young men after circumcision, shortly before an *intonjane* emerges from seclusion, or at the traditional wedding (*umdudo*).

The *incebeta* is a narrow rectangle (approximately 30 cm. wide) of *ibhayi*, with a length of thick string or two thin strips of *bhayi* attached to one of the narrow ends. By these it is tied at the back. This breast cover hangs down from just above the breasts to the level of the knees or lower. Though often plain, it is sometimes ornamented with rows or geometric motifs of black braid and edged at the bottom with large, milky-white beads (*amaso*). This garment is worn by a large majority of women, especially those of child-bearing age. An alternative is a waist-length shirt, *ihempe*, with short sleeves, worn by older married women, especially old women. This may be plain, though some are decorated at the ends of the sleeves, on the yoke and at the bottom with rows of black, green and/or orange braid. The sides are usually slit for a few inches up from the waist, to provide greater freedom of movement. It is not

tucked into the skirt. For everyday wear a sleeveless vest or cardigan is often substituted for both these items, except by nursing mothers.

An article of clothing used by all women, especially newly-married ones, is *ibinqelo*, a length of *bhayi*, left plain or dyed red in an ochre solution, and wrapped tightly about the chest at the level of the breasts. One end is tucked in at the top to hold it in position. It hangs down to the level of the thighs. This is worn at all times, as part of the *intlonipho* observances (see next paragraph). A large rectangle of the same fabric, left plain or ochred red, is worn as a cloak (*ibhayi*) particularly for use when attending a ritual or feast but also at home against the cold. Women's cloaks are distinctly larger than those of adolescent girls. Though few Red women (mainly older ones) attend funerals, some wear a black cotton or rayon shawl (*ilema*) fringed at the edges, instead of the *bhayi* cloak

The headdress of married women is also connected with *intlonipho* observances. This is a complex of speech patterns and modes of behaviour incumbent particularly on young married women *vis-à-vis* their husbands' male agnates. When a new bride goes to her husband's homestead, her entire head is tied in a rectangle of black cotton cloth (*iqhiya yelaphu*), leaving only the mouth, nose and eyes open. Once her entourage arrives there, her whole face is covered as well, until she and her attendants have reached the privacy of the hut assigned to them. During the early months of her marriage she wears this cloth much like a nun's wimple but gradually reveals more and more of her face, until the black cloth is used to cover only the top of the head. It must still, however, be worn low over the eyes. There is no exact set period of time which must elapse before this cloth is exchanged for a melton headcloth (*iqhiya yesitafu*); it depends very much on the whim of the husband's mother. Usually, a wife is allowed to adopt the melton headcloth when she has borne a child. Generally this is black for everyday wear and blue, brown or green for attendance at rituals and feasts but there is no rule. It is square and much larger than the headcloth of a new bride (*umtshakazi*). Most women's headcloths are decorated with machine-sewn patterns of white cotton, done by local seamstresses who charge up to R1 for the decoration. Especially for feasts, women often wear two of these large melton cloths, one inside the other, to add bulk to their headdresses. Brightly-coloured cotton cloths are inserted into the folds as decoration. The manner of tying the headcloth used in Tshabo is as follows: the melton rectangle is folded into two intersecting triangles, the apices of which lie next to each other. With the head bent forward, the base of the cloth is placed at the base of the skull and the points allowed to fall forward over the front of the head. The corners are then brought round to the forehead, crossed over and tucked into the wide band formed by the fold. The cloth now presents an appearance similar to a toque.

At home a woman seldom wears shoes. Flat-heeled brown or black (more often the latter) lace-up shoes are sometimes worn to rituals and feasts, but usually only when a Red woman goes to town. Plastic sandals and shoes are also worn.

DIVINERS

While diviners among the Southern Nguni as a whole appear to be mainly female, the number of male and female diviners in Tshabo between 1967 and 1970 was very nearly equal. Though they undergo some years of instruction by a qualified diviner, after the disposition towards divinership has been diagnosed, they are not full-time specialists when qualified. Except when attending gatherings of diviners, they dress in the fashion of their respective sexes. Nevertheless a diviner is always identifiable by the wearing of some article made of white beads (these will be described under the heading of Ornament) because white is the colour identified with diviners. The special dress worn by diviners at diviners' dances (*iintlombe yamagqira*) is distinctive. Male diviners wear a mid-calf-length "skirt" (*unofali*) of white *ibhayi*, decorated with rows and geometric motifs of thin black braid. This braid is not applied as

liberally as on women's skirts. The *unofali* is not sewn up, so the wearer merely winds the rectangle of cloth about the waist and tucks one end in. Over the *unofali*, a kilt of long strips of animal skins (*imithika*) with the hair on is worn specifically when a diviner is presiding at a ritual. The strips of skin in this kilt are not sewn together, except at the waistband. They may be of goatskin or cowhide, but usually include strips of the skins of wild animals (pl. *izilo*) but not of the wild animal (sing. *isilo*) to which the diviner stands in a special relationship (Bigalke, 1969, 100–2). A vest may be worn on the torso. Many diviners wear a hat made of animal skin (*isidlokolo*) somewhat like a mitre in shape. The kinds of skin most commonly used are those of the baboon, the vervet monkey and the black-backed jackal, but here also, the prohibition against the diviner's special animal applies.

Female diviners wear a white skirt (*umbhaco*) similar in shape and decoration to the red-ochred ones of ordinary married women. They also wear the breast cover (*incebeta*) in white or, less frequently, a blouse (*ihempe*) of *ibhayi*. The *ibinqelo* is also worn by female diviners. A white *bhayi* cloak, with or without black braid decorations, is worn for going out. A notable difference between women diviners and ordinary married women is that the former are not required by custom to keep their heads covered at all times. While women diviners are subject to the normal rule at their husbands' homes, they wear no head covering while dealing with people who consult them professionally or when they join the dances of other diviners. Skin hats (*izidlokolo*) or headcloths (*amaqhiya*) may be worn.

PERSONAL DECORATION

The Ndlambe make frequent use of some types of cosmetics and ornaments. Informants expressed the reason for this as the wish to appear attractive and well-dressed, particularly on public occasions. Few bead ornaments are worn in everyday life about the homestead. However, all age groups take great pains with personal toilet, dress and ornamentation for rituals and festive occasions. Informants spoke of the personal satisfaction derived from knowing that they were better dressed and groomed than others. It was also felt that a well-dressed person has dignity (*unesidima*), is respected (*uyahlonipheka*), loveable (*uyathandeka*) and an object of attention (*uyakhangeleka*). One girl believed that a well turned-out person could compensate for unfortunate physical attributes: "Many ugly *abafana* and boys have a lot of girl friends because they dress nicely."

A person who is well-dressed and elaborately ornamented may well use this display as a means of showing off wealth and status, though conspicuous consumption in terms of personal possessions is rarely practised among the Ndlambe. Elaborate ornamentation, especially in a youth (*inkhwenkhwe*) or young man (*umfana*), is almost certainly a means of displaying the results of his success in attracting girls. As Schoeman (*African Studies*, 27, (2), 1968, p. 59) has observed for one area of Zululand, it is males from this age of approximately 14 to 40–5 years who are most elaborately beaded. Youths do not, as a rule, begin to wear beadwork ornaments until they strike up a relationship with one or more girls who then present them with bead ornaments. Considerable prestige is attached to the ability to attract girls, so much so that unsuccessful youths may get their sisters or mother to make a few ornaments for them to wear in public. As there is very little privacy in peasant life, the subterfuge is easily discovered and the perpetrator teased about it. Married men have extra-marital relationships and may be given beadwork by their girls.

Generally, a girl begins to make beadwork articles (*ukuhlohla*) in the late winter, in order to be able to give her boy friend a present (*udisemba;* cf. "December") at Christmas (this is the practice amongst ancestor-worshipping Red people, not the Christians). The recipient makes a return present to the donor, who may, however, have to wait until the following December for it. If it is a large present she has given, for example, a complete set of beadwork ornaments (as

described below), she may receive as much as R24 made up of cash and gifts in kind. One youth, whose set of beadwork and ornament included 49 articles, reciprocated as follows to the girl who had given him most of it: to the girl: 1 table cloth, 1 white towel (for tying about the waist), 3 coloured cloths (for the head), 1 towel for use as a headcloth, a pair of sun-glasses, 8 silver-coloured metal bangles, 1 mirror, 3 combs, 5 strings of large glass beads (*amaso*) in assorted colours, a pair of plastic shoes, a tin of face powder, a mouth organ, 4 large (4 oz.) packets of tobacco, 3 small (1 oz.) packets of tobacco, 30c worth each of sugar, flour and sweets and 2½c worth of yeast. To her mother he gave 2 coloured cotton cloths, a small mirror, a pair of earrings and 3 pairs of anklets (*amowotshi*—see below).

Decoration and ornament are also a means of conveying socially significant facts about the wearer's social status and about particular states, during which appropriate forms of behaviour must be adopted towards people in these states. In this context cosmetic decoration may constitute a code, as indicated by de Lange (*Ann. Cape Prov. Mus.*, 3, 1963, 85–95), whose data apply equally to the Ndlambe. In another respect, the wearing of bead and other ornament, important information is conveyed. With certain exceptions, each kind of ornament is appropriate to only one particular age-grade. The wearing of an inappropriate ornament by a member of a certain age-grade is discouraged by ridicule or even by forcible removal. Old women have been known to remove *iwotshi*, a set of graduated brass bangles, from the arm of a woman considered too young to wear it. Senior youths give similar treatment to their juniors who wear ornaments unsuited to their age-grade.

Ornament is frequently believed to have a protective function. The *ubulunga* necklet (illustration: Bigalke, *Ann. Cape Prov. Mus.*, 6, 1, 1966, Plate 1), with or without the addition of beads, is made of the tail hairs of a beast specially kept in the herd for this purpose (*inkomo yokuxwitha; ukuxwitha*—to pluck). Whenever a person, regardless of sex or age, is affected by ill-health, particularly if it is thought to be the result of ancestral anger, an *ubulunga* necklet is made for that person to wear. It must be worn until it falls to pieces, then buried in the cattle kraal. Sometimes the necklet is encased in a strip of cloth, which makes it easier to wear and less obvious, especially if the wearer works in town.

Babies are given waistbands of string bearing an even number of cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta* and *C. annulus*). These are believed to assist teething even though children do not chew on them. Waistbands of *amatantyisi* (Job's tears, *Coix lacryma*), either alone, or combined with beads, are used for the same purpose. Also connected with suckling children are *amakhubalo* and *isixhoxho* necklets (see below) worn by nursing mothers.

A type of necklet often worn by youths, their girls, *abafana* and their girls, the groups of people most concerned to attract and keep lovers, is *ibotile* (see below), a small glass bottle, often of the type used for stock vaccine, covered with beads and attached to a string of beads for wearing around the neck. Though often claimed to be merely for decoration, these are widely believed to contain medicines obtained from herbalists. Their purpose, when applied to the wearer's face or body, is to attract the affections of someone of the opposite sex. Diviners and herbalists often wear small horns (*imiphondo*), containing medicines, on a necklet of white beads, the colour associated with diviners. These are also intended as protection against medicines used by their enemies (diviners are always thought to have many enemies) and "to advertise their profession" as one cynical Ndlambe observed.

The questions of preferred styles and changing fashions require some comment. There is no doubt that an increasing use of western clothing, and its use together with items of traditional dress, has had a particularly marked effect on dress in Tshabo during the past decade. Professor P. Mayer (pers. comm.), who conducted research there in the middle and later fifties, has remarked on the changes in respect of clothing. Mr E. L. Xotyeni (pers. comm.), who has worked as research assistant to both Professor Mayer and the present writer, remembers that many families who are now School were then Red, and that much more traditional clothing

was seen at that time. In the fifties, youths wore penis-sheaths, not beaded shorts, and their beaded ornaments did not include the wide range of articles based on shop-bought leather straps (see below). Women's clothing did not include the jerseys and German-print aprons so widely worn nowadays.

During the course of collecting specimens for East London Museum, it became clear that certain colour conventions in beadwork were or are characteristically worn by people of certain age-groups. Black and white, or black, white and saxe blue or turquoise are the bead colours worn by senior men and women at the present time. It was possible to obtain a little information about the relative age of some of the specimens. From this, the type of bead used and the evidence of wear, a tentative conclusion appears possible, namely that for this century, at least, black and white or black, white and saxe blue are the "traditional" colours of the beadwork of older people. The exception is the use of turquoise beads for the *isidanga* necklet (see below). One specimen of *isidanga* (5101), dating from about 1906, is made of turquoise beads somewhat larger than the kind used at present. It is not known whether the use of this type of bead arose from individual preference or was dictated by the limited availability of beads in trading stores.

There are two distinct ranges of colour combinations in youths' beads. At present, the predominant colours are white, turquoise, orange, with the limited use, at times, of leaf green and transparent dark blue. A colour combination no longer fashionable, according to informants, is white and light turquoise or white and light saxe blue. At one stage of the fieldwork it was noticeable that beadwork in the latter combinations was being freely offered for sale but very little in white, turquoise and orange combination.

Fashion appears to operate also in the types of article worn. Among youths the harness-type of torso ornament (*amapasi*) entirely of beads has fallen out of favour and been replaced by the type made up of leather bands. *Ukotso* of both types (pp. 75 and 79) are seldom worn nowadays. *Icanci* (p. 78) has, with the addition of a fringe and a change of colour, become *ithawuza* (p. 78) and is being replaced by it.

TYPES OF ORNAMENT AND ACCESSORY

All the types of ornament and accessory seen or collected in Tshabo location will be listed below. Inclusion of an article does not imply that it is a standard item in every individual's outfit. The commonness or otherwise of each item will be noted, as well as its use for any special occasion or reason. Beads are of glass (made in Italy or Czechoslovakia) unless otherwise specified. They are strung on sinew from cattle or on cotton, sometimes on a combination of the two. Cotton is much more widely used than sinew.

YOUTHS

Armbands:

Urwashu (pl. *orwashu*) (5532, 5533), two leather straps, each 2,4 cm. wide, covered with rows of white, turquoise, orange and navy beads. The straps are joined by being sewn on one long side to a rectangle of beadwork of equal length (24,5 cm.), backed with *bhayi*. The beadwork panel is of white beads, with geometric motifs, based on the chevron, in transparent dark blue, turquoise and orange beads. Two leather straps (95 cm. long) are attached in the middle of each of the short sides of the beadwork panel. These are bordered all round with rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise-blue beads. This object is attached to the upper arm by twisting the threads attached to the central straps around small mother-of-pearl buttons attached to the ends of these straps. A pair is worn. This is an unusual type of article, a new fashion. The central beadwork panel and straps are usually found without the long pendant straps. These armbands are worn to youths' dances (*imitshotsho*).

Umxhaka (pl. *imixhaka*). This is a type of armband consisting of two or more leather straps. The straps may be beaded or be attached to each other by means of a rectangle of beadwork. Two types were collected: (*a*) (5530, 5531) a 22,5 × 9 cm. panel of white beads, with geometric motifs in turquoise and transparent navy beads based on the chevron motif, is attached on each long side to a 25,5 × 2,6 cm. leather strap. Each strap is decorated with rows of white, orange, turquoise and transparent dark blue beads. At each end of both straps are two mother-of-pearl buttons. The buttons at one end of each of the straps have long pieces of white cotton attached for winding around the buttons at the other end, to attach the object to the upper arm. A pair is worn, one on each arm. This type of article is widely worn. It is seen at youths' dances (*imitshotsho*), also when the youths of various age groups march from village to village, and at stick-fights. (*b*) (5528, 5529) a leather strap 25 × 2,7 cm., covered lengthwise by rows of white, turquoise and transparent dark blue beads. At each end of the strap are two mother-of-pearl buttons. Long white cotton threads are attached to the buttons at one end of the strap, for winding around the buttons on the other end, to attach the object to the arm just above the elbow. A pair is worn on the same occasions as those described above. Commonly found.

Bags:

(*a*) *ingxowa* (pl. *iingxowa*) (5508) a rectangular (51 × 30,5 cm.) bag of *bhayi*, with drawstring at mouth, and a handle of the same fabric. Each end of the drawstring bears a cerise woollen pompom. The bag is decorated on both sides with horizontal rows of thin black braid (*ibleyiti*), three adjacent rows of which are sewn on zigzag. Also on the outside of the handle are rows of black braid applied along the length. The top of the bag and the handle are edged with a row of white beads. At the bottom of the bag is a fringed strip of beadwork made up of alternating rows of white, transparent blue, turquoise and orange beads. The short fringe is of turquoise beads, edged with larger white beads (*amaso amhlophe*) and a few small white and navy beads. To one side of the bag are pinned two small white towels and one small handkerchief. To each of the towels two circular discs of beadwork (white, turquoise and transparent blue) are attached. Two of the four discs have a few orange beads in addition. The discs are done around a large curtain ring and attached to the towel by means of a large safety pin. To the handkerchief is attached a large silver-coloured safety pin with a short, rectangular strip of beadwork (white background, with chevron motifs in transparent dark blue and orange; lower edge, same colours and turquoise, ending in a cerise woollen fringe). On the other side of the bag are two folded handkerchiefs and five beaded safety pins with beaded panels, one much smaller than the other four. This kind of bag is common, though smaller examples are more usual. Bags are carried by the strap or with the strap over the arm. Another example of cloth bag for a youth is the following one (*ingxowa yamakhwenkhwe*, 5211), 115 × 13 cm., made of *bhayi* and decorated on the lower part of each side with seven rows of thin black braid. Just below the mouth is a drawstring, to the ends of which are attached cerise and blue woollen tassels. It has a handle of three strings of beads, two white, one turquoise blue, strung on sinew. This is a common type of bag for keeping tobacco.

(*b*) *ingxowa yenyhwagi* (5507) a bag, approximately 38 cm. long, one side being a whole genet (*inyhwagi*) skin, the other a blue duiker (*iphuthi*) skin, both with the hair on and sewn together with leather thongs. A head skin of the genet forms a flap over the mouth of the bag. A shop-bought leather strap is sewn on to the top to form a handle. This is beaded at the edges with rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise beads and decorated at intervals with single mother-of-pearl buttons. The genet skin side is decorated towards the bottom with a beadwork panel (24 × 10,8 cm.) consisting of a background of white beads, the geometric motifs in dark blue, turquoise and orange beads. Above this is another beadwork panel (16,3 × 7,5 cm.)

in the same style and colours, with the addition of transparent green beads. On the duiker-skin side is a beadwork panel (23×9 cm.) in the same style and colour as above. Two genet tails and the skin of the hind legs of the duiker and genet hang down from the bottom of the bag. The style of the bag is usual, though the example described is uncommonly large.

Earrings:

amacici, small silver-coloured metal rings, hinged in the centre and with a clip for fastening. These are bought from shops and are very widely worn.

Harnesses:

ukotso (5216), a kind of waistcoat or corset, entirely of beads. Weight 2,55 kg. (5 lb. 9¾ oz.). The main part of this article consists of a large rectangle (95 × 46 cm.) made up of four panels of closely-strung beads arranged in wide stripes of white alternating with narrow stripes of turquoise and dark blue. The four panels are joined, by means of numerous short strings of white beads, along the 46 cm. side, to form a large rectangle. At each end of the large rectangle is a strip of goat or sheep leather sewn onto the beadwork with sinew and fitted with hooks and eyes for attaching the "corset" to the torso. This fastening is worn at the front. Each of the two leather strips is decorated with a row of small white buttons, with a few beads decorating the sinew used for sewing on the buttons. As this "corset" is not held on securely enough by means of the fastening at the front, a wide band of beadwork in the form of braces is worn over the shoulders; this is affixed to the upper side of the large rectangle in four places by means of 12 bead loops attached to the ends of the braces and 12 small buttons attached to the large rectangle. This article is worn alone with no other torso ornament but necklaces are worn with it. It is not unusual wear for dances but is scarce due to the large quantity of beads used in its making. Because of this, *ukotso* seems to be less fashionable than other torso ornaments and is being replaced by various kinds of decorated leather bands, as described below. Another variety of *ukotso* is a wide cummerbund of beads worn as a waistband (see below).

Amapasi is an ornament made up entirely of strings of beads or of leather straps decorated with, and joined to each other by means of, beads. The all-bead type (*a*), is seldom seen worn nowadays, being replaced by the leather strap type (*b*).

(*a*) (5210), a torso ornament resembling a harness. It consists of four single strings (each 111 cm. long) of beads, two white, two blue. From each shoulder, one of the white and one of the blue strings hangs down, the bottom of the loop resting against the side. At this point an 8 cm.-diameter disc of beadwork, built around a large curtain ring, is sewn onto the two strands of beads, joining them together. The beadwork of the discs consists of concentric circles of turquoise, black and white beads, the centre being of white beads with three triangular motifs in dark colours. The loops hanging on either side of the body would swing free but for the fact that they are joined together at pectoral muscle level, front and back, by means of two separate beadwork discs, similar to those described above, except for the addition of two rows of orange beads. This is a form relatively rarely worn by youths but common as a decoration for *abafana* (see below). It resembles the *amaselwa* in form and construction (described below).

(*b*) (5516), a harness-like ornament consisting of two wide bands (9,5 cm.), each 133 cm. long, each of which is hung over one shoulder, reaching to the buttocks at the back and to the thigh in front. Each of these wide bands is made up of two 2,5 cm. wide shop-bought leather straps joined to each other along the length by means of rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise beads sewn on with cotton and bordered along the outer edge with rows of the same coloured beads. The straps are ornamented at intervals with groups of two small white buttons. At the level of the pectoral muscles, the bands are joined to each other, in front and at the

back, by means of a panel of beadwork (14,5 × 13,2 cm.), sewn on with cotton. The beadwork on these panels has a background of white beads, with continuous chevron motifs and diamond motifs in transparent dark blue, turquoise and orange. The panels are bordered above and below with rows of transparent dark blue beads and turquoise beads. The front and back of each wide band is joined at the side, at waist-level, by means of three bead panels of approximately the same size, motif and colouring as those described above. This type of object is becoming increasingly common, either in the form described above or with more or fewer bead panels. It appears to be a lighter and less expensive modification of *ukotso*, described above. It is worn to dances.

amaselwa (5514), a harness-type ornament, similar in general shape and function to *amapasi*. Instead of the leather straps joined to form bands, this article consists of four beaded cords (each 151 cm. long), two being worn on either side of the neck. As in *amapasi*, they hang down in front of and behind the body. On each side of the neck is one white-beaded and one turquoise-beaded cord, made by winding a continuous string of beads around a length of thick string. The two ends of each cord, where they rest on the hips, are joined onto a small, bead-covered calabash (*iselwa*) from which the whole object takes its name. The colouring of the beads on the calabash is a background of white, with horizontal stripes of turquoise and transparent dark blue, with motifs in the same colours. The beadwork does not cover the entire calabash but ends at the widest part of the bulb, with a fringe of the two shades of blue beads and a few larger milky-white beads (*amaso*). At the level of the pectoral muscles, the bead-covered cords are joined together by means of a panel (15,4 × 10 cm.) of white beadwork with chevron and diamond motifs in the two shades of blue, together with orange. This type of object is fairly common, being worn to dances as an alternative to *amapasi*.

ineshinal, (5517) a kind of sash. Three lengths (169 cm.) of shop-bought leather strap are joined side-by-side by means of rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise beads sewn on with cotton and also edged on the outside with rows of the same coloured beads. On the upper, polished yellow side, the leather straps are decorated at regular intervals with mother-of-pearl buttons. The ends of each of the three straps are sewn together, the whole forming a continuous, wide loop. Attached to this is another loop, made of two narrow leather straps attached to each other with beads in the same way as the straps in the wide band. The ends of the straps of this small loop are buckled together. It can move freely along the length of the large loop. When the large loop is being worn as a sash, the small loop rests at the bottom of the large one, on one hip. To the small loop are attached two nylon chiffon squares, one cerise, the other white with pink and blue designs. Only one example of this type of ornament was seen in Tshabo, though another example was seen in an Ndlambe area not far away.

Headdress:

ingqaza (5524), a narrow band (49,2 × 2,5 cm.) of white beads. This band is made by joining a large number of single, short strands of white beads along the tops and bottoms to form the edges of the band. On these edges transparent dark blue beads are used alternately with the white. This band is worn on the forehead. Where it rests at the base of the skull are four small white buttons. Onto these are buttoned the four loops of the other part of this object. It consists of eight single strands of white beads, each 162 cm. long. Four of the strands are passed under each arm, brought round in front of the body and tied loosely at chest level, each loose end being thrown over a shoulder. This is an unusual type of ornament.

inkedama (5527), a band (61 × 2,5 cm.) of beads, consisting of four small rectangles of closely-sewn beads, horizontally joined to each other by eight single strands of beads. One end of the

band has four mother-of-pearl buttons, the other four loops for attaching to the buttons. The small rectangles are of white beads, the single strings of turquoise beads and of white beads mixed with navy beads. These strings are arranged alternately. The band is worn at forehead level, being put on after the *ingqaza* is already in place. It is strung on sinew. This type of article, sometimes wider than the one described, is part of every senior youth's outfit.

iyokoza (5523) a wide (11 cm.) bead panel (worn above the forehead) joined to a narrower (3,9 cm.) bead panel (worn at the back of the head). The entire band has a circumference of 53,5 cm. Both parts have a back-ground of white beads, bearing chevron motifs in transparent dark blue, turquoise and orange in the front, with red substituted for orange at the back. The narrower band has a 38 cm. long fringe of 91 single strands of white beads terminating in a few transparent dark blue and turquoise beads, with one larger, milky white bead (*iliso*) at the end. This fringe is worn hanging down at the back of the head. A common object.

iqhiya, (5075) a triangular headcloth of emerald green cotton fabric. It actually consists of a square of cloth, folded diagonally, with a 12 cm. band folded up from the base of the triangle and sewn into position with white cotton. This band is decorated with machine-sewn horizontal lines, diamonds and leaf shapes. The edges of the band and the entire edge of the headcloth are decorated with single rows of white and orange beads. To tie the headcloth, the undecorated (inner) side of the band is placed just above the base of the skull, the pointed ends of the base of the triangle brought round to the front of the head, crossed over and then tucked in. The point of the apex of the triangle is also tucked in.

Knife sheaths:

iskeyi, (5509) a 74 cm. long × 5,1 cm. wide shop-bought leather belt (with buckle removed), whose upper surface has a smooth, orange-coloured finish. For 22 cm. of its length, the belt is doubled over, this portion being sewn with loops of green plastic-covered wire, to form a sheath with a long, decorative tail. This embellished with chromed metal studs, white-painted metal eyes, and three small stud-like reflectors such as are used on bicycles. Approximately 26 cm. at the lower end of the pendant is beaded at the edge of the belt with rows of turquoise, transparent dark blue and white beads. In this area, there are three pairs of small bead triangles, placed apex to apex, the same colours being used, with the addition of orange, transparent green and transparent yellow beads and with one mother-of-pearl button to each pair of triangles where the apices meet. A folded white handkerchief decorated with red flowers and green leaves is attached to the reflector nearest the lower end of the belt. Variations on this type are common.

Leggings:

umkhwelo (pl.*imikhwelo*) (5499, 5500) a shop-bought leather strap (46,5×1,4 cm.) with buckle. The glossy, orange upper surface of the strap is decorated in the centre with continuous Y-pattern of small white beads, while the sides are decorated with rows of white and turquoise beads. This strap is buckled onto the calf just below the knee. From each of the three points on the length of the strap hang two coils, one of white, the other of turquoise beads. These three groups of coils hang down to about two inches above the ankle. At mid-calf and again at the ends of the three groups of coils, these coils are joined by means of two other sets of coils. These lie horizontally on the calf, forming a ring at mid-calf and again two inches above the ankle. These horizontal ring-coils are in white and turquoise beads, the lower of the two having, in addition, a coil of vermilion beads. A pair of these ornaments is worn, one to each leg. Unusual.

Necklets:

umkinxo (5129), a 29,8×4,6 cm. beadwork strip, with a 3 cm. wide strip of pigskin sewn on with sinew at each end. These leather strips are fitted with six hooks and eyes for securing the article to the back of the neck. The bead strip has a background of small opaque white beads, with a cross motif in turquoise and transparent dark blue beads in the centre. At each end it is flanked by two vertically arranged rectangles in transparent dark blue and orange beads, and a vertical bar of turquoise beads edged with rows of transparent dark blue beads. A common item, it is the first one put on when dressing up for dances.

icanci, (5077) 38×9,6 cm., an openwork, lacy-patterned beadwork strip, shaped to fit the neck. It is made of horizontal double rows of black and dark saxe-blue beads, alternating with single short strings of white beads placed vertically. The lower edge consists of intertwined loops of white beads, forming a shallow scalloped edge. The upper edge is a single row of white beads. It is attached to the neck by means of a mother-of-pearl button and a bead loop. This is a common item, in a colour combination and pattern said to be exclusive to youths. *Amacanci* (pl.) are often made in a series of two or three, each progressively longer and wider than the last, and worn one on top of the other, the largest at the bottom. This is a medium-sized one. They are put on after the *umkinxo* and worn to dances.

ithawuza, (5521) 63,5×9 cm., a beadwork strip superficially similar in appearance to *icanci* and also shaped to fit the neck. The lacy pattern is based on an "X" of beads, all four legs of which intersect with some part of another "X" conveying an impression of continually intersecting motifs. The beads are arranged in alternate rows of white, transparent dark blue, turquoise, transparent dark blue, white and so on. This order is interrupted in the centre, where there are two rows of orange beads. The lower edge is decorated with a 4 cm. fringe of cerise wool. The necklet fastens by means of a mother-of-pearl button and bead loop. The whole is strung on cotton. An alternative pattern of stringing the beads for this necklet is that described for *icanci*. *Amathawuza* (pl.) are most often fringed with cerise wool but an emerald-green fringe is sometimes seen. Like *amacanci*, *amathawuza* are also made in sets and worn to dances with the largest underneath and the others above, giving the impression of a number of woollen fringes attached to one bead necklet.

ithumbu, (5525) 39×2,4 cm., a close-fitting strip of beadwork, shaped similarly to *icanci* and *ithawuza*. It differs from them in texture, the main pattern being that of two horizontal, tightly intersecting bead "Y's" in white, placed one above each other. Above, below and between these two patterns is a two-row strip of transparent dark blue beads strung horizontally. The upper edge of the necklet is a single row of white beads. The lower edge is a row of tightly-intersecting loops, giving the effect of shallow scallops. In the centre of the lower edge of the necklet two mother-of-pearl buttons have been sewn; to each loop is attached, and from it hang, two 19,5 cm. single strings of white beads beginning and ending with a few transparent dark blue and turquoise, with a single larger, milky white bead (*iliso*) at the end. The necklet is strung on cotton. This is a common type of necklet for dances, usually found in larger sizes than the example described.

iqhina, (5526) a narrow (38×1,3 cm.) strip of beadwork in transparent yellow, edged with white beads, to which is attached a mother-of-pearl button and bead loop. To this strip is affixed a 33×6,8 cm., tie-shaped piece of close-textured beadwork in transparent yellow. This is edged with two rows of white beads and decorated in the centre with two "X" motifs in white and transparent green, an inverted "V" in white and transparent dark blue and a horizontal bar in transparent dark blue and white beads. Not unusual, but seldom widely worn, it is put on over *ithumbu* or *amathawuza*.

usaliwe yamakhwenkhwe, (5518) two (46 × 1,3 cm.) shop-bought straps with buckles are placed horizontally, one above the other, and joined by means of rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise beads sewn on. The upper edge of the top strap is similarly edged. Both straps are decorated at intervals with a line of widely-spaced mother-of-pearl buttons. From the centre of the lower edge of the bottom strap, hangs a 9 cm. wide panel of beadwork 30 cm. long. This is of closely sewn white beads, with chevron-based motifs of transparent dark blue and turquoise beads and diamond motifs of transparent dark blue and orange. The lower edge of this panel extends into a 64 cm. fringe of 31 single strands of beads. Flanking this central panel and fringe from top to bottom is a full-length (96 cm.) fringe of beads. Like the panel, this is mainly white, turning at the end of the panel into a wide band of orange beads, then becoming white again. The end of the fringe has an alternation of transparent dark blue, turquoise, white and orange beads, ending with a larger translucent milky bead (*iliso*), held on by two or three of the smaller beads. The whole is strung on sinew. This item may be worn alone or with other necklets. If the latter, it is put on first. Other examples of the *usaliwe* differ according to the width of the central panel, the number and length of strands composing the fringe, the motifs (although all are based on the chevron and its combinations) and colour. Some have coral-coloured beads (*amasomi*) in addition to, or instead of, orange. Some may be strung on cotton. The weight of the specimen described above is 0,9 kg. (2 lb.). It is worn to dances.

Waistband:
ukotso, approximately 66 × 20 cm., a band of beadwork, closing by means of loops and mother-of-pearl buttons worn at the front. It resembles a wide cummerbund. When worn the beads appear as vertical stripes, pink and saxe-blue alternating, with a few stripes of large, milky white beads (*amaso*). This item is scarce but not unusual.

Wrist ornament:
uphondo, (5194) two coloured plastic bangles, joined by means of a partial cylinder of beadwork sewn onto holes drilled along one edge of each bangle. The beadwork has a background of white beads, with chevron motifs in transparent dark blue, turquoise and orange beads. The sides of the bangles not attached to the partial cylinder of beadwork are edged with rows of white, transparent dark blue and turquoise beads. It is strung on cotton. Total length, approximately 14 cm. Unusual.

ABAKHWETHA

Headdress:
umqhele, a wreath-like headdress, made of pieces of skin of animals or feathers of birds killed when the *abakhwetha* hunt to pass the time during their seclusion. East London Museum collections include some non-Ndlambe specimens, one each made of hare skin, red-winged starling wings and Cape canary feathers. Ones made of hare skin and of Egyptian goose feathers and wings were seen in use in Tshabo. These articles are usually burned at the conclusion of seclusion.

AMARWALA (newly circumcised young men)

Anklets:
amangqashela, (5097) a pair of anklets each consisting of a 34 cm. string of beads. This is made up of large milky-white beads (*amaso*), each alternating with one small black, two small dark saxe-blue and one small black bead. Each end of the string is bifurcated, the one part being a loop of beads or a mother-of-pearl button (depending on the side), the other a very short double string of beads ending in a small tassel of cerise wool. These anklets are worn daily from the time the *irwala* comes out of seclusion until he goes to work in town.

Headdress:

ingxashe wamarwala, (5095) a 54,4 × 1,5 cm. band of beads, formed of three horizontal rows of large milky-white beads (*amaso*) placed one on top of the other. The upper and lower edge of the band consists of a row of small turquoise beads. Within the row of white beads are four insets of three large black beads (*amaso*) each. Along the lower edge of the band a double length of thin, brass chain is attached to two points 15,5 cm. apart, forming an arc when the band is in place on the head. Another, short length of double chain is attached to a point midway between the points to which the other chain is attached. This object is worn as a forehead band, the bead band being arranged so that it lies parallel with the eyebrows, about 2,5 cm. above them. It is worn daily during the period between emergence from seclusion and departure for work.

iqhiya, (5098) an 84 × 46 cm. rectangle of black cotton cloth, folded into a triangle. The base of the triangle is laid at the base of the skull; the points at the base of the triangle are brought round to the forehead, where the points are passed through a curtain ring (5099) and then tucked into the folds of cloth. This cloth is tied on only after the *ingxashe* (described above) is in place, and worn daily, like the other two articles for *amarwala*.

Necklet:

amaso amnyama wamarwala, (5096) a 45 cm. necklet of two single strings of large black beads (*amaso*), with a few large milky white beads (*amaso*) at the ends and in the middle. It closes by means of a bead loop and button. From each end a narrow, 72 cm. thong of leather hangs down. As the loop and button rest on the back of the neck, the thongs hang down the back. It is worn daily, like the other articles for *amarwala*.

ABAFANA (young men)

Anklets:

isitsaba, (pl. *izitsaba*), (5070/1, 5072/3, 5191, 5458/9) approximately 20 × 7,5—8 cm., a rectangular panel of beadwork, always with a strip of sheep- or goatskin sewn onto each narrow end. These strips may be perforated to allow for the insertion of a thin leather thong on the one side, which is passed through the holes on the other side to tie the anklet in position. More frequent is the use of small hooks and eyes, with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn at intervals along the leather strip as decoration. The beadwork is invariably done in a combination of white and a dark colour, arranged in geometric patterns. In older specimens, the combination is black and white, while more recent specimens have navy substituted for black, or the black/white combination with the addition of turquoise, either in the form of vertical bars, or as edging to the upper and lower edges. *Izitsaba* are worn by *abafana* specifically on occasions when full traditional dress is required, that is, at weddings, when *abafana* drive the bridewealth cattle to a future bride's home and when they are asked to accompany a diviner to the river for the performance of the *umhlwayelelo* ceremony. Normally, *izitsaba* are more fittingly worn by senior men (*amadoda*).

ingqashela (pl. *amangqashela*), (5089), a single string of beads, attached to the ankle by means of a bead loop and mother-of-pearl button, or two or three single strings, similarly attached. An anklet may be of one colour (usually the case when worn by *abafana*) or of mixed strings of beads. The colours generally used are white, pink, saxe-blue, turquoise, coral, orange and dark emerald green. Red is not worn with orange, nor saxe-blue and turquoise combined. *Abafana* wear these anklets only when in traditional dress for dances at weekends.

Armbands:
umxhaka (pl. *imixhaka*). Three varieties of armband are called by the same name. Each of the types may be worn on either or both arms, above the elbow. The different types are not worn together.
(*a*) (5157—9) approximately 9 cm. diameter, a length of thick string, fastened at the ends to form a circle, then covered by winding over it a continuous string of small beads, either plain white, dusty pink or dark saxe-blue or one of these colours with the addition of a few stripes of one or more of the remaining colours already mentioned. If the single string of beads is to be of one colour only, the technique is to wind it around the core in a continuous coil. When contrasting stripes are to be added, each ring of beads is sewn onto the core separately but joined to a continuous thread, to prevent individual rings moving. This is the variety of armband probably most frequently encountered. It is worn by *abafana* on all occasions when traditional dress is worn.
(*b*) (5062/3) approximately 10—12 cm. diameter, a variation on the variety described above. The difference is that a thick rubber ring or a rolled piece of cloth is used as a core, resulting in a much thicker armband. The technique for applying the single string of beads is the same as in (*a*). This item is less usual than the first variety but worn on the same occasions.
(*c*) (5090, 5094), approximately 27×2 cm. a strip of shop-bought leather strap, sometimes with the two ends sewn together to form a circle. The outer surface of the strap is beaded with rows of white, dark saxe-blue and black beads, or white, turquoise and navy beads. The upper and lower rows of beads are applied along the length of the strap, while the central space is occupied by short rows of beads at right angles to the rest. When the ends of the strap are not sewn together, the wearer secures the armband by means of cotton attached to the ends. This is as common as the first variety of *umxhaka*, worn on the same occasions.

Bags:
ingxowa, similar in all respects to the cloth *ingxowa* of youths, except that no orange beads are used for decoration, nor are towels or handkerchiefs applied to it. Bead discs and beaded safety pins are, however, found. A common item, this is carried with the strap over the arm, or often with the strap attached to a stick carried over one shoulder. It is used when traditional dress is worn.

Dance Staffs:
isitafu, approximately 75—80 cm. long, a long, thin wooden stick, or a wider length of plank, with sections cut out in a decorative pattern and the wood covered with single strings of beads wrapped about it. The beads are of the small variety, in white, turquoise, transparent dark blue and/or orange. This object is frequently found in use at *iintlombe*, the dances of *abafana*. Though it has been given to one specific man by a girl friend, it is often borrowed from the owner by other *abafana*, who dance out from among the circle or row of dancers, with the staff held in one hand high above the head.

Earrings:
amacici (sing. *icici*), plain silver-coloured rings bought in shops and inserted through holes pierced in the ears. Many *abafana* wear these earrings constantly. Once put on, they are not removed.

Harnesses:
amapasi, (5112) a torso ornament, similar in form to the *amapasi* of youths, as described on pp. 75—76. Instead of the bead discs of the youths' version, that of the *abafana* has two small (5×3,9 cm.) beadwork rectangles, fringed with larger beads, at chest level in front and on the

back, while two larger (9,5 × 6 cm.) rectangles are attached to the side strings and rest on the hips. Two of the four single bead strings attached to the bead rectangles are in saxe-blue, the other two of white and black beads interspersed. The bead rectangles are mainly of white beads, with triangles in black and coral, "X" motifs in black, filled in with coral or turquoise and with a black zigzag motif. Each rectangle is decorated at the four corners with a mother-of-pearl button. In another specimen (5092) of this kind of harness, the colour combination is identical, except that the saxe-blue is omitted in the single strings and black and white substituted. This article is worn only to dances.

Headdress:

ingcaca (pl. *izingcaca*), a narrow leather band, approximately 50 cm. in circumference, with the outer surface covered with a row of *Cypraea moneta* shells sewn on. Some examples of this type have a string of saxe-blue or turquoise beads spanning the diameter. Some also have a small tuft of black feather barbs, joined together, standing up from the band. *Ingcaca* is worn towards the back of the head with the tuft facing the front. It is worn only for rituals such as *umhlwayelelo*, traditional weddings and when *abafana* drive *ikhazi* cattle to a future bride's homestead.

inkedama, (pl. *amankedama*) (5120) a 55,5 cm., 8-strand bead band, with small rectangles of solid-texture beadwork at the ends and four mother-of-pearl buttons and bead loops, for securing the object round the bead. Of the 8 bead strands, 4 are of saxe-blue, the other of pink and black beads interspersed. The same colours are used in the small rectangles and the loops. This is a common item of ornament, worn immediately above the level of the eyebrows, on any occasion when traditional dress is required.

iintsimbi yentloko. This is a headband, of which two types were collected. As far as is known, only the two types are worn. Both consist of bead bands, but as the descriptions indicate, they are worn differently.

(*a*) (5123, 5126), a 50,5 cm. diameter beadwork band, 3,5 cm. wide, worn just above the *inkedama*. All specimens have a background of white beads, with motifs in black, or black and coral, or black and turquoise beads. The upper and lower edges of the band are trimmed with saxe-blue or turquoise beads. There may be mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on at intervals. This is the most commonly-worn headband on any occasion when traditional dress is worn.

(*b*) (5133), a 50,5 × 5 cm. band similar in shape and colour combinations to the above variety but usually with a very short, fringe-like trimming, sometimes with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on at intervals. This short-fringed variety is worn towards the back of the head, and is stiff enough to stand up, somewhat like a small coronet. This article is worn as part of traditional dress.

ingqaza, (5078) 52 cm. diameter × 1,5 cm. wide, similar to the identically-named headband of youths, as described on p. 76. The pendant, of four single strands of white beads, is wound about the torso in the same way as that of youths. The band is of short, vertical rows of white beads, edged and joined above and below with saxe-blue and black beads threaded alternately. The ends of the single strands of the pendant are short, three-pronged bead tassels in the same colours as described above. Uncommon, it is worn to dances.

iphoco, (pl. *amaphoco*) (5193) a 10,6 × 8,5 cm. rectangle of beadwork, with three 43 cm. single strands of white beads attached to the two top corners of the rectangle. The rectangle is predominantly of white beads, with diamond motifs outlined in black and filled with saxe-blue and white or coral and white, the upper and lower edges being trimmed with saxe-blue.

This type of object is normally worn as a necklet (see below) but the specimen described was made specifically as a headband. The bead rectangle is worn hanging at the back of the head or over one ear.

Necklets:

icanci (pl. *amacanci*), similar in appearance and shape to the youths' *amacanci* described on p. 78, but the bead-stringing technique is always based on the "X" shape, as in the *ithawuza*, also described on p. 78. The *icanci* for *abafana* is also often made in a number of different lengths, the longest one being worn next to the skin, with the shorter ones above it. It may be as long as 20 cm., so that it has the appearance of a short cape, covering the shoulders and the chest to below the level of the pectoral muscles. The *icanci* is always in saxe-blue, dusty pink and white; the white appears in the form of a single horizontal stripe and is flanked, above and below, with alternate rows of the blue and pink. Informants said that *abafana* were not allowed to wear *amacanci* unless they had been given beads (*ukuxhonywa*) by their girl friends; they would not be allowed to wear those made for them by other people. *Icanci* is worn at dances and weddings.

ithumbu (pl. *amathumbu*, intestines), also similar in general shape to *icanci* but differing in width, bead-stringing technique and colour combination. The widest specimen in East London Museum collections is 9,8 cm., 4—5 cm. being more usual. The stringing technique is one of closely-interlocking bead "Y's," the whole presenting a somewhat lacy appearance due to the fact of the "Y's" forming separate rows of widely-spaced beads. The upper edge of the necklet is a single row of beads, while the lower edge is a series of closely-interlocking loops. Colour combination is of alternating horizontal rows of saxe-blue, black, dusty pink, or saxe-blue and dusty pink without black, or turquoise, black, pink and white. *Ithumbu* is worn over *icanci*. It may have a long pendant of 4—6 single strands of beads which are attached to the lower edge of the *ithumbu* in the centre.

isibamba valo (pl. *izibamba valo*) (5184) basically an *ithumbu*, in all respects similar to those described, but with a number of mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in the centre of the lower edge. To these buttons is attached a bead strip. This consists of a rectangular panel of close-textured beadwork at either end but joined to each other by means of 18 single strands of beads to form one long strip. The ends of the rectangles are buttoned onto the *ithumbu* by means of loops attached to the mother-of-pearl buttons. When it is being put on, the wearer takes hold of the area of single bead strands and parts them into two groups of nine. The head is inserted into this new loop and the strings of beads pulled down over the torso, so that they form a band about the torso at stomach level. The *ithumbu* is then fastened about the neck by means of its button and loop. It is worn at dances and weddings.

umphotho (pl. *imiphotho*) (5106) 61,5 cm., a continuous coil of three single strings of beads twisted together. This specimen is of turquoise beads. Other colours used are white or saxe-blue, always singly. This necklet is put on by being pulled over the head once *icanci* and *ithumbu* are in place. It is worn on any occasion when traditional dress is appropriate.

umdudo, (pl. *imidudo*) (5119) three 52 cm. coils of beads, of identical type to *umphotho*, joined together by tying in two places, each of which is ornamented with a mother-of-pearl button. Two of the coils are of small white beads, the other of saxe-blue. It is worn in similar fashion to *umphotho*.

ibotile (pl. *amabotile*) (5069) a 6,5 cm. long bottle, covered with alternate rows of light blue, black and white beads and hung about the neck by means of a string of large milky-white

beads (*amaso*), alternating with light blue and black beads. This object is put on after *icanci* and *ithumbu* when traditional dress is worn.

iphoco (pl. *amaphoco*), consists of a single bead rectangle, attached by the two top corners to a single or double string of beads, by which it is attached to the neck. The rectangles vary considerably in size—from about 5,8×4,5 cm. to 8,5×8,5 or larger. When two or more rectangles or squares appear on the same necklet, it is referred to in the plural, as *amaphoco*. The great majority of the bead rectangles or squares have a background of white beads, with a variety of types of motif, usually in black. These range from vertical or horizontal bars, to diamonds, single triangles, two triangles meeting at their apices, to stylised human figures, usually of women in long skirts and with arms in various attitudes. The latter type of motif appears usually only on an *iphoco*, that is, a necklet with a single rectangle. Plain geometric motifs are more common on *amaphoco*. This is a very common type of ornament, worn with traditional or western dress though the latter is not frequent.

Waistband:
ukotso (5131) (70×6,8 cm.) a band of beadwork, fastened at the front by means of eleven mother-of-pearl buttons and bead loops. When in position the beadwork consists of relatively wide vertical stripes of dark saxe-blue beads separated from each other by one row of larger milky-white beads (*amaso*) flanked on either side by two rows of transparent dark blue beads. There are a few rows of pink beads in the centre and at the ends of the band. This is a common article, worn by more senior young men at feasts and dances.

AMADODA (senior men, from about 45 upwards)

Senior men wear traditional dress only when they officiate or are guests at feasts and weddings. At sacrifices it is usually only the officiator who wears traditional dress.

Anklets:
isitsaba (pl. *izitsaba*), exactly the same type as described for *abafana*. Worn on the same occasions, also at sacrifices when a man has to officiate.

Armbands:
umxhaka (pl. *imixhaka*). The same type of beaded armband, of beads wound about a central core, or a beaded strap, are worn as by *abafana*. Some *amadoda* possess but do not wear, ivory armbands, also called *umxhaka* (sing.). Ivory *imixhaka* (pl.) were in the past owned by wealthy or important older men and worn on the occasion of rituals, feasts and public meetings. The price of any ivory arm-ring is said to have been a beast. Informants now in their forties said that even in their childhood they seldom saw men wearing these arm-rings.

ingxoxo (pl. *amangxoxo*) (5062, 5204), approximately 30—35 cm. long, a band of *Nerita albicilla* shells. One method of stringing these together is to perforate the body whorl, then, working with two strings, insert one through the operculum, the other through the body whorl perforation, bringing each out through the hole opposite it and continue thus until the band is completed. The alternative method is to sew individual shells to a leather band by passing a narrow thong through the operculum and out through a perforation in the apex, thus affixing it to the band. The specimen with shells sewn on to a leather band is also ornamented with transparent dark blue and white beads, and small triangles of turquoise, black, coral and white beads arranged in concentric triangles. This ornament is worn by senior men (and women) on the biceps of the left arm, on occasions such as weddings, *intonjane* and important tribal meetings. Being rare, there are few specimens available.

amaso, a single string of large glass beads, worn next to the skin. The beads are in single strings of green, red, orange and pink. All *abafana* wear this article when traditionally dressed.

Bags:

ingxowa yebhokhwe (pl. *iingxowa yebhokhwe*), a whole goatskin, up to 108 cm. long, depending on the size of the animal. The skin is removed, starting from the rear, without cutting the skin along the abdomen or that of the legs. The skin is tanned, then turned inside out so that the hairy surface is on the inside. The opening at the head is sewn up, and the skin of the front legs is tied to the back legs to form loops. The opening is at the rear, the widest part of the skin. For carrying, the loops so formed are slipped over a shoulder, usually the left. The outer surface may be ochred or left plain. This bag is used when traditional clothes are worn; it contains a pipe, tobacco and a pipe-cleaner (*isilanda*). Only older men, from about 50 upwards, have this type of bag.

itasi, (pl. *amatasi*), a pouch-type container, often approximately 30×20 cm., of goat, blue duiker, genet or the skin of any wild animal available. One *itasi* of springbok skin was seen; this skin has been purchased in a town. This article may be rectangular or semi-circular. It always has a flap. The hair is left on and used on the outside. Sewing is done with thin twine or ox sinew. It is used, especially when the owner is wearing western dress, to contain a pipe, tobacco and a pipe-cleaner (*isilanda*).

Earrings:

amacici (sing. *icici*), the same shop-bought silver coloured metal rings are worn as by *abafana*.

Headdress:

amanquma, a band, approximately 50—52 cm., made up of small pieces of the skin of the vervet monkey, with hair still attached, each individual piece being bound with thin string and the whole lot sewn together with string. The tufts of hair extend above and below the band of string. This is worn towards the back of the head, usually without the accompaniment of any other head ornament, by older men at feasts, rituals and traditional weddings.

ingcaca (pl. *amangcaca*, cowries), as described for *abafana* (p. 82). It is worn for rituals and traditional weddings.

Necklets:

isidanga (pl. *izidanga*) (5101) made up of as many as nineteen single strings of turquoise beads, more rarely, saxe-blue ones, bound together at one point with string, sinew or a string of beads. The length of the necklet varies according to individual wish; it may be as short as navel-level or so long as to reach almost to the knees. This is worn only at weddings or sacrifices, especially when the wearer is the head of a lineage and has to preside and invoke the ancestors.

isitokfele (pl. *izitokfele*) (5061, 5091) consisting of a tight neck band, approximately 34 cm. long, made up of 10—12 single strings of beads joined together horizontally in the middle and at the sides and fastening by means of four or five bead loops and mother-of-pearl buttons. From the centre of the neck band, a varied number (6—10) of single strings of beads hangs down the front to thigh or knee-level. Informants said that the *isitokfele* was originally black and white, these colours being present in both the neck band and the pendant, with white predominating. One such example (5091) was collected. More recent specimens are in white and red beads, with red predominating. This article is worn by men of about 50 and over. It is fairly often seen at feasts.

iphoco/amaphoco, as described for *abafana* on p. 84 is worn. *Amadoda*, however, tend to wear *iphoco*, the single beaded rectangle, with a motif in black on a white background.

amazinyo (sing. *izinyo*), a necklet of animal teeth, usually of hyrax, baboon or dog, strung together, interspersed with beads. This is worn to feasts by senior men but also on certain occasions by other age groups: girls (at the *umnungqo* dance), young men (at weddings, at the *umhlwayelelo* ritual and when *ikhazi* cattle are driven to a future bride's home).

Waistbands:
isaziso (pl. *izaziso*) (5374), 109,5 × 7 cm., a band of beadwork with a 5,5 cm. fringe of single strings of beads. The predominant colour bead is white, with motifs of black or dark saxe-blue (vertical and horizontal lines, bars, triangles and diamonds). It fastens either by means of buttons attached to the strips of sheep- or goatskin sewn onto the ends, or by means of lengths of sinew or cotton wound around the mother-of-pearl buttons sewn onto the ends. Its purpose is more ornamental than functional; it is arranged to cover the top of the blanket when this has been arranged skirt-like.

igqesha (pl. *amagqesha*) (4979), an 87 × 4 cm. band, composed of rows of large (*amaso*) and small beads and thick string, arranged horizontally. Colours: large milky white, large black, small dark saxe-blue and small black. The two ends contain no string but are entirely of beads. These two pieces of beadwork have apparently been added on to increase the length. They are joined to the main band by means of small rectangles of *bhayi*. To each end are attached two buttons, each with two short lengths of cord, for securing the band to the waist. Near the end worn on the left is an 81 cm. pendant of four lengths of thick string, wound round with pink, saxe-blue and black beads at the top and middle of the pendant and ending in two 13 cm. tassels each made up of 13 short strings of saxe-blue beads. This article is worn about the waist, not over a blanket worn skirt-fashion. When the wearer wraps his blanket about his body, the pendant of the *igqesha* can be seen hanging out below the bottom of the blanket.

GIRLS (*iintombe*, sing. *intombe*)

Anklets:
ingqashela (pl. *amangqashela*), as described for *abafana* p. 80. These anklets are very widely found in everyday use.

isitsaba (pl. *izitsaba*), as described for *abafana* on p. 80 are worn by girls only when they perform the *umngqungqo* dance near the end of the seclusion period of the *intonjane*, also by a bride when she goes to her future husband's home for the first time.

Armbands:
umxhaka (pl. *imixhaka*). The beaded core or beaded strap varieties, as described for *abafana* (p. 81), are worn by adolescent and unmarried girls, both those who consort with youths and those who consort with *abafana*. They are not reserved only for dances. This is a widely-worn item.

Earrings:
amacici (sing. *icici*). This is the same variety as described on p. 75 for youths, p. 81 for *abafana* and p. 85 for *amadoda*. (5111), 4 cm. diameter (total). A 2,6 cm. diameter curtain ring, pierced in two places for the insertion of a loop of thin brass wire, by which the ring is attached to the ear, through holes pierced in the earlobes. The ring is beaded within and around the circle, giving the appearance of a flat disc of beads. Colours used are white, turquoise, black and coral. This is not so common as the plain silver-coloured rings.

Headbands:
ingcaca, as described for *abafana* (p. 82), are worn at the *umnungqo* dance during the *intonjane's* coming-out feast.

Necklets:
During the period of fieldwork, the only necklets seen being worn by girls, of both the *amakhwenkhwe* and *abafana* groups, were strings of large plastic beads in white, orange, red and pink, also necklets made up of small, silvered glass balls, similar to Christmas-tree ornaments. Informants said, however, that the following types of necklet were worn by *abafana* girls:

icanci, as described for *abafana*, on p. 83.
ithumbu, as described for *abafana*, on p. 83.
umphotho, as described for *abafana*, on p. 83.
umdudo, as described for *abafana*, on p. 83.

Waistbands:
inyilingo (pl. *amanyilingo*), approximately 76×4 cm., a band of solid beadwork, or backed with a strip of *bhayi* or sheep- or goatskin, with two thin thongs attached to each end for tying. This band may be plain, or have two or more single strands of beads hanging down to calf-level from each side of the central ties. Colours: white (background), black, dark saxe-blue, turquoise, orange.

MARRIED WOMEN (*abafazi*)

Anklets:
ingqashela (pl. *amangqashela*) (5138), as described for girls on p. 86.

isitsaba (pl. *izitsaba*), as described for *abafana* on p. 80. The only occasion on which a pair of these anklets is worn by an adult woman is during the period between leaving her own home as a bride with her entourage and the culmination of the traditional wedding ceremony, when she bares her torso before the assembled old men in the cattle kraal.

iwoshi (pl. *amawoshi*), approximately 31 cm., a length of fine white-metal or brass chain, with the two ends tied together with bark fibre or a link of the chain. A pair of these is commonly worn by the majority of older married women, in preference, or in addition, to *amangqashela*.

Armbands:
umtseke (pl. *imitseke*) (5107), a metal bangle, worn singly or in great profusion on either or both arms. It consists of a continuous, thin strip of brass, wound about a core or thin brass wire or of horsehair. It may be worn at the wrist, as well as above and below the elbow. Further details of this type of article are given by Hechter-Schulz, (*S.A.J.S.*, 59, pp. 51—3).

ingxoxo (pl. *amangxoxo*) (5062, 5204), as described for *amadoda* on p. 84.

Earrings:
amacici (sing. *icici*). Women wear the same variety of silver coloured metal earrings as described for youths (p. 75), *abafana*, *amadoda* and girls.

Headbands:
ingcaca, the same type as described for *abafana* on p. 82. These are worn at weddings.

Necklets:

unogetye (pl. *onogetye*) (5128), 53,5 cm. long, two single strings of beads, each closing by means of a bead loop and a large, milky-white bead. One string turquoise, the other leaf green. Worn by a young married woman.

isixhoxho (pl. *izixhoxho*) (5143, 5146), a fairly close-fitting necklet composed of short (6—7 cm.) lengths of wood, being thin branches of *ichakata* (*Tecomaria capensis*). From 45 to 65 of these are strung together, side by side, with two narrow grooves cut into one end of each stick, to take the binding of threads of sinew or cotton. There may be a few beads between each pair of sticks or a string of beads secured to the outer surface. These are usually saxe-blue or turquoise. This type of necklet is worn by all pregnant women as a protective amulet.

umkinxo (pl. *imikinxo*) (5116), 33×2,7 cm., a band of *bhayi*, decorated with rows of well-spaced white and saxe-blue beads, also a few coral beads, with a central pendant of two short strings of red and white beads attached to a mother-of-pearl button, and fastening by means of two bead loops and two mother-of-pearl buttons. Worn by *abadlezana* (women suckling babies), traditionally for a period of about two years after the birth of the child.

abakhubalo (sing. *ikhubalo* is applied to the individual pieces of root in this necklet), approximately 48 cm., a necklet composed of a number of wedge-shaped lengths of *umfingwane* (*Stangeria* sp.) or *indawa* (*Cyperus* sp.) roots strung on one or two single strings of beads, usually turquoise alone, or with a few white and black beads. This is worn by *abadlezana* (suckling mothers) as an amulet. If her baby should suddenly become ill, the mother will chew or scrape a little of one of the pieces of root, mix it with water and administer it to the child. A modification of this type of necklet is becoming popular at present. Instead of pieces of root, similarly shaped bottle tops of plastic are strung together. Though worn by nursing mothers for the same reason (ostensibly) as the real thing, the modern version is merely ornamental.

intsimbi yomqhala (5181), a 44,5 cm. long necklet made up of a single row of pink beads, below which is attached a row of closely-interlocking loops of saxe-blue and black beads. At the bottom of each loop is a white bead, to which is attached a short tassel of threads of *bhayi*, the whole row of tassels forming a fringe. This necklet is attached to the neck by means of a bead loop and mother-of-pearl button. It is worn by older married women.

incyiwana (pl. *iincyiwana*) (5103), approximately 37 cm. long. One type consists of a narrow leather thong, beaded on its outer surface, with a short fringe of single strings of small beads, each string terminating in a single large black bead (*iliso amnyama*). The other type consists of a narrow band of rows of beads, with a short fringe similar to the first type described. One specimen (5103), worn for a few decades up to 1952, has the band made of turquoise, white and black beads, with a fringe of coral, black and white beads. Those seen in use during the past three years have the band of transparent dark blue, white and turquoise beads, with a fringe of black and white beads. It is worn by older married women.

izingqombo (5093), 52,5 cm. long, consists of two lengths of bead-covered string, sewn together one above the other, by the ends. One length is of white beads, the other of dark blue beads. It is attached to the neck by means of a piece of thin string, attached to one end, wound about a mother-of-pearl button attached to the other end. It is worn by married women.

iphoco/amaphoco, similar to those described for *abafana* (p. 84) and *amadoda* (p. 86). Married women up to about the mid-fifties tend to wear *amaphoco*, that is, a necklet with two or more bead squares or rectangles. Women older than this, wearing this type of ornament, wear *iphoco*, in plain black and white.

isidanga, as described for *amadoda* (p. 85), is worn by a bride on the day she goes in procession from her own home to that of her future husband.

Waistbands:

igqesha, as described for *amadoda* (p. 86), is worn by mature married women to feasts and rituals.

inyilingo (pl. *amanyilingo*) (5121), 76,5 × 3,8 cm., a band of beadwork, strung in vertical rows, and with a lower border of separate loops of beads tightly packed next to each other. The beadwork of the band is white, with three groups of triangular motifs and two vertical bands in black, the border being of dark saxe-blue beads. The band is mounted on a strip of sheep- or goatskin, each end of which projects beyond the band and has three mother-of-pearl buttons. One end of the leather strip has two short, thin leather thongs which are wound around the mother-of-pearl buttons on the other end, to fix the waistband in position at the top of the skirt. It is worn mainly by older married women.

Waist ornaments:

isipaji (pl. *izipaji*) (5083, 5156), a purse, approximately 11 cm. long. It is a flat, wedge-shaped object with rounded corners, hand-made of cowhide. There are two pockets, each covered by a flap. The tops of the flaps are sewn together and attached to a loop of hide. This loop is slipped on to one of the two types of waistband described above. The flap which is uppermost has its surface decorated with rows of flat brass studs and white-painted metal eyes. To the sides of the purse are attached a strip of leather, cut into streamers. These are ornamented with small pieces of thin brass strip, pinched on with pliers. This type of ornament is rarely used nowadays but has been seen worn by mature married women.

DIVINERS

A diviner or diviner's novice is always readily identifiable, even in everyday dress, by the wearing of one or more articles made exclusively of white beads. In a culture apparently poor in the exegesis of symbolism, diviners to a limited extent provide explanations of the significance of white. They say that white is the colour chosen by their ancestors for them because it is associated with light and that diviners need light to clarify the problems brought to them by their clients. For this reason also, their clothing and ornament must be predominantly white.

Anklets:

ingqashela (pl. *amangqashela*), a single string of white beads closing with a loop and mother-of-pearl button, or one long string of white beads wound round and round the ankle to form a wide band. The loose ends of the long string are tucked into the coil. This is worn constantly, both in everyday life, at rituals and at diviners' dances, whether the wearer is in traditional or western dress. A pair is worn.

Armbands:

iwotshi (*iwatsha*) *yamagqira*, is a long string of white beads, wound about the right wrist in the same way such a string is wound about the ankle. It is worn on similar occasions. This item is worn every day, with traditional or western dress.

Headdress:

iyokoza, similar to the *iyokoza* of youths, as described on p. 77, except that a diviner's is of white beads only and may have a short fringe of beads in the front also. It is worn at diviners' dances and at the rituals over which they preside.

Necklets:

icamagu, a necklet composed of one or two single strings of white beads, closing with a loop and mother-of-pearl button. It is worn with both western and traditional dress.

usaliwe yamagqira (4956), a band (37 cm. long) of white beads with a single row of navy beads incorporated. This band is strengthened at the back with a strip of goat- or sheepskin. From the band a long (82 cm.) fringe of 120 single strings of white beads hangs down to below waist level. This article weighs approximately 1,35 kg. (2 lb. 15½ oz.). It is put on by tying the thongs at the end of the leather strip. It is worn by male and female diviners to diviners' rituals and dances.

Waistband:

inyilingo, similar to that described for women on p. 89 but only in white beads with motifs of black beads. It is worn by male and female diviners to diviners' rituals and dances.

isaziso, similar to that described for *amadoda* on p. 86 but only in white with black motifs. It is worn by male and female diviners to diviners' rituals and dances.

REFERENCES

BIGALKE, E. H., 1966. Notes on the place of domestic and indigenous animals in Cape Nguni life, *Ann. Cape Prov. Mus.*, 6 (1): 1—16.

BIGALKE, E. H., 1969. The Religious System of the Ndlambe of East London District, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

DE LANGE, M., 1963. Some Traditional Cosmetic Practices of the Xhosa, *Ann. Cape Prov. Mus.*, 3: 85—95.

HECHTER-SCHULZ, K., 1963. Wire Bangles, a Record of a Bantu Craft, *S. Afr. J. Science*, 59 (2): 51—3.

SCHOEMAN, H. S., 1968. A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi area of the Mtunzini district, Zululand, *African Studies*, 27 (2): 57—81.